CONSIDERATIONS

ONTHE

PRESENT STATE

OF OUR

Northern Colonies;

THEIR

INTEREST with GREAT-BRITAIN and IRELAND proved reciprocal and inseparable;

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Disadvantages they are now under clearly stated; and a REMEDY proposed.



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enced the tender Care of their Mother Country thro' a long and expensive War, may they not justly expect to find themselves the Object of her Attention in the Hours of Peace? Tensible of the infinite Obligations they owe to the best of Princes, and most affectionate People, they with united Voice, earnestly seek for an Opportunity to express their Sense of Gratitude, by lending a helping Hand towards their own Support; while it will add to the Dignity and Power of their Deliverers.

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First, then, let us consider their true State and Circumstances. Tho' lately delivered from a powerful Enemy, they are not yet allowed to rest in Safety, nor can they ever expect in their present wide, extended, irregular Situation; owing to the little Care (of a civil Nature) paid to them in regulating their Form of Settlement: Fut on the contrary no feafonable Stop has been put to that fatal Method of granting by Patents from each Government, large Tracts of Land to a few Individuals, or particular Societies of Men, who have no Intention to make any Settlement on them : Nor are they able to plant them in fuch a manner, as to prove of any Service to the State: for it must be done at once, and with fuch a number of Men, as may stand the Shock of all the neighbouring Tribes of Indians, and prove a Barrier to the interior Provinces. 'Tis therefore the Voice of every difinterested Man, both at home, and abroad, that instead of purfuing a Measure so fatal and unconstitutional, the Parliament of Great-Britain may take it under Confideration: wrest those Lands from

from fuch Monopolizers; strike them off from the well inhabited parts of the Colonies, and render them separate and independent; for this must be done sooner or latter, otherwise the Provinces will become too large and extensive, and the Business of Government rendered insupportable.

As the Lands on the upper Branches of the Connecticut, Hudson's, Mohawks, D.laware, and Susquehannah Rivers, are extremely rich and fertile, capable of producing very large Quantities of Hemp and Flax, and have the Conveniency of Water-Carriage; I would propose, that they should be, under the Direction of Government, immediatly formed into distinct separate Provinces, and settled from the lower Colonies, by making it their Interest to transplant themselves there, which I conceive may be done in the following Manner, viz.

Whoever prefumed to prefide as Governor of one of those Provinces, should have it on no other Conditions than by producing a certain number of able Hands, under Obligation to settle, and improve a certain

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number of Acres of Land; and every other Officer in the faid Government bring on a number in proportion to the Dignity of their Office.

Secondly, that these Lands should upon the Arrival of the Inhabitants, be divided into small Partitions and Townships for their mutual Sasety, and each Man intitled to a certain number of Acres in the Town or Village to be settled: with liberty to purchase more at a reasonable Price, under Obligations to improve it with Hemp and Flax.

Thirdly, that the Inhabitants might be induced to raise the above Articles, there should be a Bounty laid on them for two or three Years, or until they brought them to some Persection; after which the liberty to import them to England free of Duty would be a sufficient Encouragement.

Fourthly, that poor People may become Adventurers, the Government should for two or three Years supply them with Provisions, Cloathing, Arms, and Ammunition.

Fifthly, that every Man should be subiest to a strict Military Law, and accustomed to Discipline; because their own Security, as well as that of their Neighbours in the lower Colonies, would greatly depend upon their Abilities as Soldiers; the very appearance of which will strike the Natives with awe; the only Method that can secure their Fidelity and Friendship.

Sixthly, for the better Security of these Provinces, their respective Governors should have power to stop all Supplies of Powder going to the *Indians*, and limit at discretion the Quantity which they may demand; on this would depend his own Security, as he would be equally exposed in Case of an Invasion.

Seventhly, to make it the Interest of the Indians to keep Peace; the Chiefs of the neighbouring Nations should for a few Years, until we are well settled, have a small annual Subsidy, but liable to Deductions for every Murder committed, unless the Murderer is delivered up to Justice. And here I must take the liberty to remark, how impolitic our past Conduct has ever been, in making them large Presents to be at Peace, after the Commission of the most horrid

them to make a temporary War; they have great Sagacity, and very well know that cutting some of our Throats, must be attended with no other Consequence, than an Offer of a large Present; the Value of which proves an excellent Balsam to heal the Wounds of Conscience.

When we confider the Expence of thus planting and fecuring our Frontiers, with that of supporting an Army, it is very trifling; for in two or three Years, it would be at an end, and the Confequence much more falutary. No impartial Man will pretend to affert, that the Number of Forces, which we can afford to support there, are able to guard them in their prefent irregular wide extended Situation; 'tis rather believed, that what number we have to spare, after supplying our several different Forts and Garrisons, will be found rather infufficient to support and defend the Colonies South of Penfilvania, where the Indians are very numerous, difaffected, and eafily supplied with Arms and Amunition from the French on the Miffippi.

But suppose upon a trial, ten, or twenty thousand Men were found able to guard our whole Line of Frontiers; of what Benefit would the present settled Colonies be to this Country, or what can they ever give us in return for this enormous and endless Expence; for their Lands, North of Maryland were never designed by Nature to produce any thing but Provisions, of which this Country has an Overplus already. On the contrary they even injure our Trade; for by their Vicinity, they supply the West-India Islands much cheaper than the Europeans, and often undersell us at European Markets.

Thus it plainly appears we have no Alternative, but must by an uncommon Stride immediately transplant, as many of the Inhabitants as possibly we can, from the Provision Colonies, to those where it will be in their Power, and greatly their Interest, to raise Hemp and Flax, and thus by one Stroke disburden ourselves of two Millions per Annum, a Ballance against us paid three-fourths in Specie to the Russians, mostly for these very Articles. But the Re-

would be all of our own Manufacture.

If it should be asked, where is the Manable to engage such a number of Hands, as might be required by his Commission, as Governor: I answer there are many in the Provinces, who on such an Appointment would produce almost any Number required, of laborious People, who are greatly desirous to leave their, comparatively, barren Soil, for those delightful Vallies, which Nature has made so redundant; that is in Case these Lands are rendered independant, and upon their settling them, firmly secured to them and their Heirs sorever.

Nor is it to be expected that *America's first-born Sons, Children of persecuted Parents, early impressed with the highest Sense of Liberty; embittered to Dependency; unused to Controul; who call none Master but their King; can entertain the Thought of leaving their little secure, and independ-

^{*} America's first-born Sons. I take the Liberty to call the present Generation so, as they may be justly said to be the first that have had a tolerable Existence there.

dant Fortunes, and submit to the Will of a Landlord, who may at pleasure drive them, or their Children, from the Enjoyment of those Vines and Figurees, which at the peril of their Lives they have planted.

But to leave nothing undone, in fo interesting an Affair, the Government would do well to employ Shipping, and immediately transport as many Germans, as were found inclinable to adventure, (and if fo many, at their own Expence, and under less Encouragements, are daily repairing thither; no doubt great Numbers would gladly embrace the Opportunity:) the same Inducements would likewise prevail upon many poor People from Scotland and Ireland. Thus I prefume that in four or five Years, these new Colonies shall from a howling Wilderness, become not only a fafe Barrier to their Neighbours, but promise fairly to be of much greater Advantage to their Mother Country.

The grandest Objection against the above Plan I conceive is, that these Lands are not only within the Limits of different Provinces,

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and therefore absolutely a part of the faid Provinces, but are by Royal Patent granted to a few particular Men, who are To which I answer, 'tis Proprietors. a melancholy Truth, which every difinterested Man beholds with Regret: But as it is not yet too late, to remedy the fatal Mistake, and recal the Royal Mandate; and as we now, for the first Time, fee what fatal Consequences must inevitably enfue, namely, the utter Prevention of farther Settlements, eternal Disputes between Province and Province, as well as between Man and Man; our Frontiers left exposed, or if fecured it must be at the Expence of keeping an Army; large Tracts of Land, which might be rendered more ufeful to this Country than any on the Continent, must lie an uncultivated Desart, to cover the Heads of our perfidious Enemies: Befide many Irregularities and endless Difficulties, too many to infert in this Pamphlet, all combine to convince us, that no Time must be lost in taking them under ferious Confideration. And I doubt not but that,

that, upon strict Enquiry, it will be found absolutely necessary, to take the said Lands under the immediate Direction of Government, with as little Detriment to the wrangling Herd of Proprietors as possible; and thus sink all Clamour and Dispute in public Good.

A fecond Objection may arise: That the Indian Tribes, would murmur at so bold a Stroke, and dispute our Right to the Country: But 'tis well known, that their Country, as far as we shall be able to cultivate for a Century, has been fold over and over again to as many different Provinces and People, as now quarrel for it. And that no other Method will secure their Faith, but such as tends to leave strong Impressions of Fear and Dread.

A third Objection may be: That as the Labourer's Wages are very high compared to Russia, we shall never be able to rival them in this Branch of Commerce. But I presume the superior Strength and Richness of these Lands will greatly overbalance that Disadvantage.

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A fourth may be: That the Distance will make the Navigation expensive; as the Freight of those Goods must thereby be more considerable, than those imported from Russia.

Tis true, that the Distance is much greater; but, when we calculate the Russian Duties, Custom, Agio's, Port Charges, &c. saddled on their Goods before Exportation, it overbalances that Disadvantage by five per Cent. whereas this American Produce will employ much Shipping and many Seamen, merely from the Length of the Voyage.

I acknowledge there have been Encouragements offered the Inhabitants of fome of our Provision Colonies, to induce them to raise Hemp, which have hitherto failed of Success; and no Wonder since the Land now settled is utterly incapable of producing it; therefore this can be no Argument against our future Endeavours to encourage and establish it, where the Soil is naturally good, and abundantly sertile; 'tis true, we may bind the Inhabitants, on their Settling those new Colonies, to appropriate a cer-

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tain part of their Lands for Hemp; but let us not fail to fet before their Eyes every Inducement possible to balance the Horror of a howling Wilderness, which the wild Beast makes his Den, and where no human Being ever trod, but trembled.

Some who are unacquainted with the Situation, and Circumstances of the Provinces, may imagine it reasonable that they should fettle their own Frontiers at their own Expence: But this is impossible as well as unreasonable; for unless these Lands are wrested from the present Owners, which the Provinces cannot do, they must be at the Expence for a few private Men: if they are taken from those private Men, and given to their respective Provinces, it will render them too extensive for the Business of Government, and if they are struck off and made separate Provinces, they have no farther Bufiness with them; and whoever knows the true State of their Credit, &c. must acknowlege, they have no Specie but what comes immediately to England, and already overburdened with Paper Currency, which they have ftruck to pay the Provincial Troops in the late War; and any additional Expence will oblige them to strike more, nor can they ever agree among themselves, to divide or bear the Expence equitable.

If the Colonies are called upon to affift in this Scheme, it must be done by an Act of Parliament, and the Expence paid by a Tax on the whole.

Another Objection may be started, by those who are unacquainted with the Disposition of the People; that by encouraging those Colonies in raising such Produce, they may thereby be the better able to furnish and sit out their own Shipping, and in Time become an Object of Jealousy to this Country.

Tho' this can never be the Case, as long as England reserves to herself the Direction, and sole Power of commissioning all her Ships of War; Yet that there may be no Possibility lest for such a Revolution, England may on the first appearance of Danger order all such Goods to be exported raw, and unwrought; and it would be very easy to prohibit the Manusactory of Sail Cloth and

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Cordage throughout the whole Line of Colonies.

But every Man who knows the Principles, and Inclinations of the Colonifts, laughs at that idle romantic Notion, of their being inclined to throw off the British Yoke, while it is eafy, or their Burden while it's light; on the contrary they join the general Voice of Englishmen, and triumph in the Protection of their Laws. They fought Freedom in the Defart, and want nothing more than its Continuance; they heartily love, and chearfully pay Obedience to the illustrious House of Hanover, to fupport which they would rifque their Lives, and Fortunes, left their most precious Privileges have an End, and Life become worse than Death. In fine, nothing but Oppression can, fince they are by opposite Interests divided, ever unite them, in Combination against their Mother Country.

I now come to confider the Colonies South of Penfilvania, in some measure separately, since there Situation and Circumstances seem still more unhappy; as they are less able to defend

fend themselves; being wide, and extensive. peopled mostly with Slaves, not to be depended on in an Hour of Danger; therefore, are in more necessity of a standing Army on their Frontiers to screen them from the numerous Tribes of Indians, naturally attached to the French, who lose no Time, nor spare any Labour, in giving them fresh Impressions of Hatred and Malice; or Expence, to furnish them with Arrows of Death against us. And unless some Measure is taken to prevent; the Inhabitants of Canada will leave their present cold Climate, and in general move down to their Neighbours on the Missippi, where they will become still more formidable. And it is the Opinion of most Gentlemen, acquainted with the Country, that after making one strong Settlement on one of the upper Branches of Potomack River, or if found convenient, on the Banks of Ohio, under a military Establishment, we must be contented to support a Number of Troops, and build a number of small Forts, to command the Avenues of the Mountains, extending from the faid Settlement Southward; and thefe bast Forts

Forts, as well as all the frontier Towns, thro' the whole Line of Colonies, shall by an Act of Parliament be the Boundaries of our Indian Trade, and no Person admitted to carry Goods among the Indians on any Condition whatsoever. This would oblige the Indians to come to, and be dependant on us for all Goods; nor can there be Imposition on either side, where both Parties are under the Eye of the Law. This must be settled by the Parliament of Great Britain, for the Colonies will never agree to do it in a regular manner, being actuated by separate Interests, &c.

These Lands likewise are great part of them capable of producing large Quantities of good Hemp, particularly their Meadow Land, which can never want Manure, to the End of Time; and were the Inhabitants, for once, encouraged by a large Bounty on that Commodity, they would ditch them, and fit them, to produce very large Quantities.

Thus it plainly appears, that it is in our power to wing our Navy, inde
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pendant of those sulky Barbarians, who no doubt in a little time will feel their own Power, and from the ame Inducement (tho' with greater Rapidity) like the Goths, and Vandals overrun all Europe.

Another material Article is, that when once we are in peaceable Possession of these Back-settlements, the People will be induced to work upon the Mountains of Iron Ore, with which they abound, and thereby supply us fully with that valuable Commodity, so greatly in demand.

Before these sew Sheets had passed the Press, I was surprised by the Royal Proclamation concerning our new Colonies, &c. and to avoid the very appearance of intersering with that Plan, I have made some Alterations. My Intentions differ in nothing more than this, viz. That instead of forming* new Governments without Inhabi-

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^{*} I mean the Governments of the Florida's, where in the Summer Season the Sands are so hot throughout the greatest Part of the Country, that Men cannot walk far without burning the Shees off their Feet, and the great Extent of marshy

tants; Ariking out new Settlements thro fenny Grounds and fandy Defarts, (whose Poffesfors must feed on Disease instead of Bread; and whose Labour must be spent in vain, while Life lasts) or in other words; making Heads without Bodies, or Bodies without Limbs; I would propose planting fuch Colonies, and making fuch Settlements on the upper Branches of the aforefaid Rivers, where the Lands are rich and redundant; and where the Indabitants will live long, flourish, and be of infinite Service to this Country, as well as prove a fafe Barrier to the Colonies on the lower Parts of the faid Rivers; and thefe very Lands fortunately lie between the well inhabited Parts of the Colonies, and the Line lately drawn across the Heads of those Rivers. In fine, the late Partition is a fresh Instance of our utter Ignorance of the Continent, and still more loudly calls for our most ferious Attention.

and fenny Ground soon makes it a Grave to its Inhabitants; and it is notorious that the Inhabitants of Augustine and Pensacola were dependent on the English and French Colonies for their Support.

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I hope these few broken Hints may be a means of inducing some of my fellow Countrymen to feek for better Information than heretofore has been offered. I have endeavoured to point out all the Objections that may arise against an Undertaking; so important and interesting to the Nation: But as it is impossible to think of every Objection and Difficulty that may appear to attend; and, as the most glaring Truths and stubborn Facts are often covered over with Sophism and Falshood; it must fink and give way to the Torrent of private Interest (fince private Interest is pursued with more Spirit than public) unless some uncommonly great Friend to his Country will stand and support it.

In short, shall Great-Britain make any Advantage of the Peace, or shall she not, or is the Cloathing all her Colonies, by which, in return, she receives every thing necessary to equip her Fleet, an Object worthy her Consideration and Attention?

I am forry that so little Pains has been taken to set the above Facts in a true Light, and

and that private Interest has yet ever been preferred to public Good, by the Agents of the Colonies, who are mostly Tools of Party, and Deceivers: But I hope some Gentlemen, who have Interest and Influence, will now prove Friends to their bleeding Country, thoroughly acquaint themselves with this important Assair, and by supporting it thro' the British Senate, they must be rewarded with the gracious Smiles of their Sovereign, and unseigned Thanks of every true Subject.

N. B. The Author, who is independent, and entirely difinterested, is well known to many who read the above: and is at all times ready to support the Truth of it, if called upon.

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